

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS:PFOR, SF, WA

SUBJECT:NAMIBIA: PROBABLE SWAPO RESPONSE TO CONTACT GROUP
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PROPOSAL

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SWAPO RESPONSE TO CONTACT GROUP
PROPOSAL WHICH SAM NUJOMA PRESENTED TO THE SECRETARY
DURING THEIR APRIL 27 MEETING. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE URGED
NUJOMA NOT TO ISSUE THIS STATEMENT,
UPON HIS RETURN TO NEW YORK TODAY HE MAY
GO AHEAD WITH HIS PLAN TO ISSUE IT.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

"SWAPO RESPONSE TO THE LATEST VERSION OF THE PROPOSAL OF THE FIVE FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION.

"IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRESIDENT NUJOMA'S NOTE OF MARCH 30, 1978, TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, SWAPO HAS MADE A THOROUGH STUDY OF THE LATEST VERSION OF YOUR PROPOSAL WHICH WAS GIVEN TO OUR MOVEMENT ON MARCH 30, 1978, CONCERNING A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION.

IN STUDYING THE NEW VERSION, WE REALIZED THAT, IN ESSENCE, THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSAL REMAINS UNALTERED. THE CLARIFICATION WHICH YOU SOUGHT TO MAKE HARDLY CHANGED OR ADDED ANYTHING NEW REGARDING YOUR PREVIOUS POSITION.

"THROUGHOUT OUR TALKS, SWAPO HAS ELICITED FROM YOU AND GOT THE UNDERSTANDING THAT YOUR PROPOSALS WILL NOT BE SUBMITTED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR ITS CONSIDERATION UNTIL AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE CRUCIAL ISSUES OF THE CONFLICT WITH THE PARTIES CONCERNED. WE
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FEEL, THEREFORE, THAT IT WAS PREMATURE TO HAVE TABLED THE PROPOSALS BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT THIS TIME.

"THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF U.N. ROLE

"IN BOTH ITS ORIGINAL AND REVISED FORMS, THE PROPOSAL STRESSES ELECTION AS THE KEY ASPECT OF IMPLEMENTING SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385 OF JANUARY 30, 1976. HOWEVER, IN BOTH INSTANCES, THE PROPOSAL DOES NOT CLEAR THE AIR FOR SWAPO AS TO WHO WILL REALLY BE IN ACTUAL CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATION IN NAMIBIA DURING THE PROPOSED TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. NEITHER THE PHRASE THAT "THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL SATISFY HIMSELF AT ALL STAGES", NOR THE OTHER THAT HE WILL "HAVE A DECISION ROLE" MEET OUR LEGITIMATE CONCERN THAT PRETORIA IS WITTINGLY OR UNWITTINGLY BEING LEFT TO CONTROL THE EVENTS IN HER COLONIAL INTERESTS IN NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. HENCE, YOUR PROPOSAL SERIOUSLY COMPROMISES AND UNDERMINES THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS OVER NAMIBIA.

"YOUR REVISED PROPOSAL, IN OUR OPINION, STILL FALLS SHORT OF A DEFINITE AND CLEAR STATEMENT AS TO THE ROLE AND EXTENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS' AUTHORITY IN THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS. IT DOES NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION AS TO WHO WILL HAVE SUPERIOR AUTHORITY BETWEEN THE SPECIAL

REPRESENTATIVE AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN APPOINTED ADMINISTRATOR - GENERAL? IT IS SWAPO'S FIRM CONVICTION THAT FOR THE U.N. TO HAVE EFFECTIVE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS, INCLUDING THE RUNNING OF ELECTIONS, THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST BE PLACED IN A SUPERIOR AUTHORITY IN RESPECT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR - GENERAL. THE DELIBERATE AMBIGUITIES WHICH CHARACTERIZE YOUR PROPOSAL IN THIS REGARD AND WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN INSISTING UPON THROUGHOUT THE TALKS IS ONE OF THE ISSUES

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WHICH HAVE MADE IT DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, FOR OUR MOVEMENT TO ACCEPT YOUR PROPOSAL IN TOTO.

"IN OUR OPINION, YOUR PROPOSAL, WHILE DELIBERATELY AMBIGUOUS REGARDING THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE U.N. AUTHORITY DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD LEAVES SOUTH AFRICA WITH CLEARLY EXTENSIVE POWER TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS.

"FIRST, SOUTH AFRICA IS TO BE LEFT WITH ITS ENTRENCHED ADMINISTRATION OVER THE WHOLE TERRITORY. SECOND, SOUTH AFRICA IS TO BE ALLOWED TO HAVE ITS HUGE PARA-MILITARY POLICE FORCE INTACT IN NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. THIRD, SOUTH AFRICA IS TO BE ALLOWED TO HAVE 1,500 TROOPS STRATEGICALLY POSITIONED IN NORTH/CENTRAL PART OF NAMIBIA. FOURTH, SOUTH AFRICA'S AGGRESSIVE CLAIM TO WALVIS BAY IS TACITLY CONCEDED TO THEREBY ALLOWING HER TO HAVE MORE THAN A DIVISION OF ITS ARMED FORCES AT ROOIKOP IN THE WALVIS BAY AREA, IN ADDITION TO THE 1,500.

"WITH ALL THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF STATE POWER AND PHYSICAL CONTROL THUS LEFT FIRMLY IN THE HANDS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE U.N. SO AMBIGUOUS, WE FRANKLY CANNOT SEE HOW FAIR, FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS CAN BE HELD IN NAMIBIA. NOR CAN WE SEE HOW THE FIVE EXPECT SWAPO TO ENDORSE A PROPOSAL WITH THE CARDS SO ONE-SIDEDLY STACKED IN SOUTH AFRICA'S FAVOUR. WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THIS WHOLE EXERCISE IS THE DESTINY OF THE OPPRESSED NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, AND WE IN SWAPO BELIEVE THAT WHILE THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE SHOULD APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS AND ASSISTANCE BY OTHER PEOPLES, THEY SHOULD NEVER ENTIRELY ENTRUST THEIR DESTINY WITH OTHERS, NO MATTER HOW WELL MEANING THE OTHERS MAY BE.

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"IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND THAT WE INSISTED AND

STILL INSIST ON KNOWING THE PRECISE NATURE AND EXTENT OF U.N. ROLE IN THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS LEADING TO SOUTH AFRICA'S TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. WE WOULD THEREFORE WISH TO HAVE A DEFINITE STATEMENT IN YOUR PROPOSAL AS TO THE NUMBER OF BOTH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY COMPONENTS OF UNTAG. THE VAGUE AND AMBIGUOUS PHRASE THAT THERE WILL BE "SUBSTANTIAL U.N. INVOLVEMENT" CANNOT BY ITSELF REASSURE US THAT THE U.N. WILL IN FACT SUPERVISE AND CONTROL THE ELECTIONS.

"II. WALVIS BAY

"THE POSITION ADVANCED IN THE PROPOSAL THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S CLAIM OVER WALVIS BAY BE LEFT IN ABEYANCE IN ORDER TO BE RESOLVED BY THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA IS UNACCEPTABLE. WE CONSTRUE THIS POSITION TO BE AN UNFORTUNATE COMPROMISE WITH AN OBVIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN NEO-COLONIAL DESIGN TO AFFORD HERSELF A STRATEGIC LEVERAGE WHEREBY SHE COULD EASILY BLACKMAIL AND AGGRESS AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA WHENEVER, IN PRETORIA'S VIEW, IT BECOMES NECESSARY. LEAVING THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE IN ABEYANCE IS ALSO, IN OUR OPINION, TANTAMOUNT TO AN ATTEMPT TO EXPEDIENTLY REMOVE THE PROBLEM OF WALVIS BAY FROM THE AGENDA OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THEREBY MAKING IT EASIER FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO TWIST THE ARMS OF AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. THUS, WE HAVE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN GOING ALONG WITH THIS POSITION.

"III. LOCATION OF THE 1,500 TROOPS

"SWAPO FIND YOUR INSISTENCE THAT THE 1,500 SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS BE POSITIONED AT OSHIVELO AND/OR AT GROOTFONTEIN TO BE BOTH POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY UNACCEPTABLE. THE POLITICAL PURPOSE WHICH THE PRESENCE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF THE 1,500 TROOPS IS SUPPOSED TO SERVE CAN STILL BE SERVED IF THESE TROOPS ARE STATIONED AT KARASBURG IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF NAMIBIA. IF SOUTH AFRICA IS REALLY SERIOUS IN WANTING TO GIVE UP HER ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATION OF NAMIBIA IN THE MANNER ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WE SEE NO NEED FOR THE INSISTENCE TO HAVE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN THE NORTH/CENTRAL PART OF NAMIBIA.

"IV. SWAPO POSITION IN SUMMARY

"1. ASSUMING THAT ALL CONDITIONS FOR FREE, FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, AS STIPULATED UNDER RESOLUTION 385, HAVE BEEN AGREED UPON SWAPO WILL BE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

"2. SWAPO AGREES TO THE PROPOSED UNITED NATIONS TRANSITION ASSISTANCE GROUP (UNTAG). THIS SHOULD CONSIST OF A CIVILIAN TEAM OF NO LESS THAN 1,000 PEOPLE AS WELL AS A U.N. PEACEKEEPING FORCE OF NO LESS THAN 5,000 SOLDIERS. THE TWO ABOVE-MENTIONED SECTIONS OF UNTAG

SHOULD BE UNDER THE AUTHORITY AND DIRECTION OF THE U.N. SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

"3. SWAPO ALSO AGREES TO THE PROPOSED APPOINTMENT OF A U.N. SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO SUPERINTEND THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE. WITH A SENIOR SOUTH AFRICAN CIVIL SERVANT IN A SUBORDINATE POSITION AND WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO ANSWER QUESTIONS RELATING TO, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE HANDING OVER OF NAMIBIA'S FILES, TREASURY, AND OTHER PUBLIC PROPERTY, THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OVERALL SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS LEADING TO INDEPENDENCE.

"4. UPON ASSUMING HIS DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES, THE U.N. SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE MUST ENSURE THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS WITHIN TWO WEEKS.

"5. SWAPO ACCEPTS THE PRINCIPLE OF SUBMITTING ITS OWN FORCES TO THE CONFINEMENT, SURVEILLANCE AND MONITORING OF THE U.N. PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN NAMIBIA IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT IS EFFECTIVELY OBSERVED.

"6. TO THE BEST KNOWLEDGE OF SWAPO, THERE ARE ABOUT 50,000 SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS DEPLOYED THROUGHOUT NAMIBIA, INCLUDING THE WALVIS BAY AREA. WE PROPOSE THAT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF 1,500, ALL THESE TROOPS SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN WITHIN THREE MONTHS FROM THE DATE OF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT.

"7. THE 1,500 SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WHICH WILL REMAIN IN NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS SHOULD BE CONFINED TO BASE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF NAMIBIA FROM WHICH THEY WILL BE WITHDRAWN INTO SOUTH AFRICA WITHIN SEVEN DAYS AFTER THE CERTIFICATION OF ELECTION RESULTS.

"8. THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE SO-CALLED TOKEN FORCE MUST INCLUDE THE DISMANTLING OF THE BANTUSTAN TRIBAL AUTHORITIES, SECURITY FORCES, CITIZEN FORCES, TRIBAL ARMIES,

COMMANDOS AND SHOOTING CLUBS.

"9. SWAPO AGREES THAT A DISARMED SOUTH AFRICAN
POLICE FORCE SHOULD BE PLACED UNDER THE OPERATION CONTROL
OF THE U.N. SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

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"10. SWAPO'S POSITION IS THAT NAMIBIA'S TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY AND NATIONAL UNITY, INCLUDING WALVIS BAY, IS
INVOLABLE AND NON-NEGOTIABLE. THEREFORE, OUR CON-
CESSION THAT A SO-CALLED TOKEN FORCE OF 1,500 SOUTH
AFRICAN SOLDIERS COULD REMAIN IN NAMIBIA DURING THE
TRANSITIONAL PERIOD INCLUDES ALL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS
PRESENTLY STATIONED AT WALVIS BAY AND ITS ENVIRONS.

"IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE FACTS, SWAPO STRONGLY
BELIEVES THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL AND IMPERATIVE TO HAVE
FURTHER TALKS IN ORDER TO IRON - OUT THE OUTSTANDING
ISSUES SO AS TO ENSURE AN ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT.

VANCE

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